

COLONIAL NEWSLETTER

P.O.Box 4411

Huntsville, Alabama 35802

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Volume 17, No. 1

April, 1978

Serial No. 51

A CONNECTICUT WHAT'SIT ?

(TN - 73)

Submitted by Harold W. Hauser:
Glen Ridge, New Jersey



Given: A retooled Connecticut Copper of 1787

Determine: The original Miller variety

Sequential page 622

LETTERS

• Technical Notes •

• The Research Forum •

• Gleanings •

A New MACHINS MILLS Reverse of 1787.

(TN-74)

● ● from David Sonderman; New Haven, Connecticut

Illustrated below is a new unlisted 1787 Machin's Mills reverse in combination with Vlack obverse 17 (new plates). Since "E" seems to be the next open designation in Vlack's attribution scheme, this specimen is designated as Vlack 17-87E.

It differs from other 1787 reverses by, among other things, the position of the date and the relationship of the branch hand to BRITAN. The die is broken from just below A to well into the central figure, which probably accounts for the weakness in BRIT. This specimen exhibits a full date element; clash marks from the mail of the obverse figure are visible directly in front of the reverse figure's face. The style is entirely like that of other Machin's pieces. One other specimen, holed, has been tentatively identified elsewhere.

1.25x Enlargement



Obverse 17



New Reverse 87E

Connecticut CENTER DOTS

(TN-56D)

● ● from Edward R. Barnsley; Beach Haven, New Jersey

It was over a year ago that you published Walter H. Breen's letter about die engravers' Center Dots showing up on New Jersey coppers, some Vermonts, many Connecticuts, a few Massachusetts, and many Philadelphia Mint coppers. (CNL # 47, p.566) In that interval of time none of these interesting features have been reported, other than their original publication, with illustration, of those in the New Jersey series. (CNL # 46, p. 539) I would like very much to hear if anyone has actually found these Center Dots in other State coinages, particularly among the 404 dies that make up the family of Connecticut coppers, because many of this series are alleged by Mr. Breen to be so marked. I want to see how such dies line up when they are identified on the Spilman Die Analysis Chart for the Connecticut Coppers.

Some THOUGHTS on the QUANTITIES of SMALL PINE TREE SHILLINGS (TN-75)

● ● from Walter Breen; Berkeley, California

A ballpark minimum figure for quantity issued of Massachusetts Small Pine Tree Shillings (1675-1682) may be derivable by reexamining the old legend that John Hull provided his daughter Hannah a dowry consisting of her weight in Pine Tree Shillings on the occasion of her wedding to Samuel Sewall. If she weighed 125 pounds, the quantity of Shillings at 72 grains apiece (average) required to equal this amount would have been 10,000 or £ 500 Massachusetts standard. (Coincidentally, exactly this amount is recorded in Samuel Sewall's ledger as coming from Hull about this time!) At Hull's rate of half the one-per-twenty fee, assuming that he and Sanderson continued to split evenly the legal commission, the 10,000 Shillings would have been Hull's fee on the coinage of 320,000 Shillings -- a figure doubtless small compared with the total output. Unfortunately, my sources do not give the date either of Hannah's wedding or of the entry in Sewall's ledger, so it is possible that some of the coins might have been Large Shillings (coined 1667-1674). If so, the minimum quantity coined of Small Shillings would have been considerably larger than on the Large Shillings, and the last two varieties (Noe 29 and 30) are among the commonest of all (coined, probably, around 1682).

THOUGHTS on LORD BALTIMORE.

(RF-61A)

● ● from T.D.Howe; Houston, Texas

In one of the CNL's (CNL #50, p. 610) someone asked information on Cecilius Lord Baltimore which sent me back to J.A.Doyle's "English Colonies in America, Virginia, Maryland and the Carolinas" (Henry Holt & Company, 1889). Doyle cites Bozman's "History of Maryland 1837" for a good bit of his information, but in the accompanying screed I have listed Bozman only once.

Basically what I have condensed from Doyle is more about Maryland than Baltimore but I trust that it will be of interest to our Patrons

Cecilius Calvert the 2nd Lord Baltimore, on the death of his father George, in April 1632 inherited not only the title but also the grant of land lying to the North of that actually settled by the Virginia Company but overlapping by more than a hundred miles the territory included in the original Virginia patent (Bozman's "History of Maryland" 1837 Volume II). The Maryland charter made Baltimore, a Catholic, in his proprietary character almost independent of the crown requiring only that all churches and places of worship in Maryland should be consecrated according to the ecclesiastical laws of the church of England. As toward his subjects the Proprietor, with the advice and assent of the freemen, the majority of them or their representatives could make laws or, in emergencies rendering it inconvenient to summon a representative body, could make ordinances having the force of laws so long as such ordinances were not to affect any man in his life or goods. In addition the charter provided that no tax should be levied by the crown on any person or goods within the colony but laid no such restriction on the Proprietor.

The colonists under command of Leonard Calvert Baltimore's younger brother set sail from Cowes 11/22/1632 in two vessels arriving off Virginia the last week of February 1633 and laid claim to the Isle of Kent in Chesapeake Bay 80 miles north of Virginia as a part of Maryland altho certain Virginia merchants thru their representative William Clayborne had obtained in 1631 a special commission from the crown to trade with the Kent Island natives. In the spring of 1634 in response to a summons from the Governor of Maryland that he relinquish all dependence on Virginia and consider himself a Marylander Clayborne applied to the Council of Virginia for instructions as to his course of procedure. His application eventually reached the King who issued an injunction to all Colonial Governors to assist Clayborne and the Kent Island planters and forbidding Baltimore and his agents to do them violence and, at the same time, instructing Harvey, a Maryland councilor, to support Baltimore and to protect him from Clayborne's malicious practices - an Alice in Wonderland decision.

In the spring of 1635 Clayborne dispatched a pinnace and fourteen men to attack and capture any boats belonging to Maryland. Calvert met this by arming two small vessels and in the ensuing fight 3 Virginians and 1 Marylander were killed leaving Kent Island in possession of Maryland. Clayborne retreated to Virginia and in 1637 appeared in England to press his claim for Kent Island and, in addition, for a 72 mile wide strip of land extending the whole length of the Susquehannah River as far as the great lakes. This was approved by the King at the urging of Sir William Alexander, Secretary for Scotland but later refused by the Commissioners for Plantations confirming Baltimore in his claim to the Isle of Kent.

As originally conceived by the proprietor the constitution of Maryland was to consist of a Governor, a council and an Assembly. In 1637 Baltimore sent out an ordinance vesting all judicial power in the Governor and Council and in 1638 another ordinance rivalling a set of laws proposed by the Assembly. At the first meeting of the Assembly its proceedings were annulled by Baltimore and again in 1638 but this time in a temperate letter he empowered his brother Leonard the Governor to assent to such laws as should be "concerted with and approved of by the freemen or their deputies". In 1642 he warned the Jesuit priests in his colony that they must expect no privileges beyond those which they would enjoy in England.

In 1643 and 1644 naval warfare between Maryland and Virginia again erupted. Leonard Calvert fled to Virginia but later returned and ousted Clayborne and his ally Richard Ingle only to die a year later. Baltimore now showed his anxiety to propitiate the rising powers by choosing William Stone, a Protestant, as governor exacting from him an oath that he would not molest any persons on the ground of their religion. The Council was also reconstituted with but two Papists among its members.

In 1649 the Assembly objected to the right of the Proprietor to originate laws and protested against the exorbitant demands made by him for damage to his estate by Clayborne and Ingle. This remonstrance seems to have had its desired effect since thereafter Baltimore refrained from any attempt to interfere with the legislative powers of the Assembly, and confined himself to his rights of approval and veto.

The Puritan party had received important additions during the prior decade and by 1650 was large enough to be made into a separate county under the name of Ann Arundel openly at variance with the political views of the Proprietor. In October 1649 immediately after the execution of Charles I the Virginia Assembly passed an act declaring that all commissions derived from the crown were still valid and that to justify the recent proceedings of Parliament was to be post factum accessory to treason. This confirmed the opinion of most men in England that Virginia and Maryland were hot beds of royalism. Parliament immediately sent out two ships to subdue the malignant colony which surrendered without a shot. This complete Parliament turned to Maryland.

In March 1652 the Commissioners landed and required from Governor Stone that he would accept the authority of the commonwealth reserving Baltimore's just rights and that all legal processes should run in the name of the Keepers of the Liberties of England the established successors by Act of Parliament to the constitutional functions of the crown. Stone at first resisted and was deprived, allegedly by force, of his commission. Later he seems to have thought better of his refusal and retained his commission by acquiescing.

In August of 1652 Baltimore cut himself adrift from the Royalist party by publishing a manifesto setting forth the various reasons against uniting royalist Virginia to, now, Puritan Maryland. He represented the injury which would be inflicted on future colonial enterprise by curtailment of his proprietary rights and set up a plea for this form of government on the ground that the residence of the proprietor in England served as security for good behavior. Perhaps because of this Cromwell appears to have pledged himself to effect some settlement of the dispute between Maryland and Virginia but took no direct part in determining the questions at issue.

In 1654 Baltimore seems to have thought the time ripe for a counter-revolution and to reassert for himself that position which he had held towards the crown. Cromwell was now Lord Protector. In May Governor Stone issued a proclamation setting forth that the government of Maryland, under the Lord Proprietor, according to his patent was subordinate unto and dependent upon the aforesaid government of the Commonwealth of England. At the same time to prove resumption of authority Baltimore replaced one Brook, a councillor who had supported Clayborne. Thus he hoped to divide the Colony of the authority of the Commissioners by pointing out that the source of that authority was now extinct and, secondly, to connect the rights of the Lord Proprietor with the newly established power of Cromwell. It is hard to see how Baltimore could expect that a colony now largely peopled by Puritans and placed under the recently established authority of the Parliamentary Commissioners would quietly submit to the sovereignty of a Papist and court favorite.

Relying on the Maryland puritans and a force of militia recruited in Virginia the Commissioners marched into Maryland and resumed possession of the government, deposing Stone and reconstituting the Council.

Its first step was to disfranchise all Roman Catholics and to elect a Puritan assembly. The assembly then declared that land holders had acquired title in virtue of their transportation without the necessity of declaring loyalty to the Proprietor and declaring Baltimore's demand for an oath of allegiance to himself null and void. By so doing it struck a blow at his territorial as well as his political right.

The menace to his territorial rights seems to have aroused Baltimore for report of the time has him urging Stone to resist. The practical result of this was the marshaling of the two parties in civil war against one another in the summer of 1655. The Puritans of Arundel unexpectedly reinforced by an English merchant vessel commanded by a staunch Puritan routed the Proprietor's St. Mary's followers took them all prisoners and executed ten pardoning six including Stone.

In 1656 Baltimore reasserted his claims by dispatching his brother, Philip Calvert, to the colony, with a commission as Councilor, with power to act as Secretary and to represent the interests of the Proprietor. Virginia, clinging to the hope of annexing Maryland to itself, now submitted to the Committee for Trade and Plantations a memorial pointing out how the grant of Maryland overlapped and was an intrusion on its rights and, further, that the power of the proprietor was at variance with English constitutional principles and particularly dangerous because he was a Catholic. To this Baltimore filed a counter petition resulting in an agreement containing four articles. The first pledged all those opposed to Baltimore to abandon all resistance and to pay due submission to the Proprietor according to his patent. Second all disputes were to be referred to the Lord Protector and his Council. Third that no lands were to be forfeited for past opposition to the Proprietor. Fourth that Baltimore pledge himself never to repeal the law giving freedom of worship to all christians of whatever denomination.

For two years Maryland enjoyed tranquillity broken by a dispute between the Proprietor and his Assembly as to the limits of the former's authority the Assembly claiming legislative power independent of the Governor and Council. Apparently acting under direct orders from Baltimore Philip Calvert, his brother, held a provincial court. The heads of the opposition were tried by a grand jury as rebels and found guilty. All were subsequently pardoned save two who were fined and disfranchised.

Under the restoration the Proprietor's position remained unaltered. In 1666 he commissioned his son Charles Calvert governor therein describing himself as absolute Lord and Proprietor of the Province of Maryland. No word of the crown is said and the only reservation in his sovereignty acknowledged is the law passed in 1650 forbidding any interference with religion.

In 1671, confirmed in 1674, the Maryland Assembly laid a tax of two shillings a hoghead on exported tobacco one half of which was applied to public expenses the other half going directly to the Proprietor. Over and above this he received a port duty of fourteen pence per ton on the cargo of all vessels trading with the colony and quit rents made payable in tobacco at two pence per pound.

In 1675 the second Lord Baltimore died but the proprietorship continued under Charles Calvert until 1688 thereafter lapsing until restored in 1715 to the fourth Lord Baltimore on his conversion to the Protestant faith.

MORE on EARLY USAGE of the HORSE HEAD DESIGN

(TN-68A)

● from Walter Breen; Berkeley, California

It is barely possible that other early uses of the heraldic device "nag's head sinister on torse" may be found on coins (CNL #49, p.592); it was certainly a common device in arms. However, in searching for the actual prototype, one might more profitably check early representations of the Arms of the State of New Jersey. On the State Notes of January 9, 1781, the State Arms are emblazoned with supporters (Newman, p.217), and similarly on the issues of 1784 and 1786. On all of these the technical description would have to be: argent, three ploughs sinister proper; crest, nag's head sinister on torse; supporters, Ceres with shield and cornucopia, and Liberty with cap on pole. The device on the coins is nearest to that found on the 1786 notes, where the crest is found without a helm. We may take these notes, then, as the most probable immediate source of the design.

The FIRST RECORDED TRIAL of COUNTERFEITERS in AMERICA.

(TN-76)

● ● from Edward R. Barnsley; Beach Haven, New Jersey

In my discussion of the importation of halfpence & farthings on the "Unicorn" (G-3A, CNL #50, p.609), I mentioned the first recorded trial of counterfeiters held before Governor William Penn and his Council during October of 1683. The following is an abstract from the complete text of the proceedings of that trial. The 17th Century language is great! Quine for coin, and ... Felton was "scroopling to do it". My dictionary says Scroop is to emit a harsh, grating sound like "The gate scrooped as he swung it shut".

- Editor's Note: In retyping the text we have attempted to duplicate the original "flavor" by including all of the unique spelling, errors, and peculiarities as they appeared in the original text. JCS

Rob^t Felton being attested, The Question was put to him whether or no he rec^d any Silver of Charles Pickerin, to Quine for him; he answered yes, 24 pounds of Bard Silver; he also made the Seales, & Charles Pickerin & Sam^{ll} Bukley helped him to make the Bitts. Quest: what did they add to the allay of y^e 15 lb. 2^{es}; about 4^{es} of Copper; and what to y^e 9lb. 3 or 4^{es} of Copper, being the allay; he cannot be E exact how much the allay was, for they did sometimes put in more than he knew of.

Robert Felton also saith he had noe Silver brought to him, but by the psons above named, and he Scroopling to do it, the Silver having been already allayed, and if they did not put more Copper into it they would Loose by it; they said they would Bore him out in what he did for them.

The Gov^r telleth Ch: Pickering & Sam^{ll} Buckley of their abuse to y^e Govern^t, in Quining of Spanish Bitts and Boston money, to the Great Damage and abuse to y^e Subjects therof. The gov^r asked them whether or no they are Guilty of y^e fact. They confess they have put of some of those new bitts, but they say that all their money was as good Silver as any Spanish money, and also deny that they had any hand in this matter. Charles Pickering saith he will Stand by it and be Tryed; he declareth that he heard Jno. Rush Swere that he Spent halfe his time in making of Bitts.

The Gov^r asketh Sam^{ll} Buckley whether he did not help to melt money, or to put in y^e Copper allay into y^e Silver more then Should be, and to have been at y^e Stamping of new Bitts, and Striking on the Stamp.

He Confesseth he hath been guilty of somewhat of that; also, was there not to y^e knowledge any brass or Copper put into the Silver that was melted? he Sayeth yes.

Also, whether or no thou didst not help Charl. Pickering's man to melt, and also to strike the hamer and See y^e Seals, and disperse some of the Bitts, more or Less? he Sayeth yes.

Was there not more allay put into the Silver then Ordinary, and y^e Person tould that Stamp it, that There was too much? he sayeth yes.

John Rush being sent for & Examined, Positively denyeth what Char. Pickering affermd.

The Gov^r Demands of Charl. Pickering and Sam^{ll} Buckley to give Security, wch accordingly was done.

Tho. Philips & Sam^{ll} Bucley, Enter into a Recognizance of five hundred pounds for Sam^{ll} Buckley's appearance before this board when demanded, and not to goe out of towne without Leave.

Richd Wall and Char. Pickering binde themselves and Enter into a Recognizance of five hundred pounds for Char. Pickering's appearance before this board, and not to goe out of towne without Leave.

Ordered yt y^e Sherriff take Rob ffelton into Custody, & him safe to keep until further order.

Ordered, That an Indictmt be Drawne against Chr. Pickering & Sam^{ll} Buckley, Grounded upon Evidence taken before this board.

Two of the Assembly, Jno. Blumstone & Luke Watson, came to this board to be Informed Concerning the Sherriffs, calling them to y^e Service of a Grand Jury, and they were tould it was about Corrupt money, and that it was not by Compulsion, but wth their Consent.

John Symcock Sent by y^e Gov^r & Prov^{ll} Council to y^e Assembly, that Griffith Jones may have Liberty to come before this board to be Examined on Businesse of Moment.

Complaint being made to this board about New Bitts and New England Shillings, It was resolved that there should be a Proclamation Issued out forthwith to cry them downe.

Griffith Jones Attested, saith that Charles Pickering sent him Eight pounds in New Bitts to pay New England men, but they would not take it; therefore he went to Mary Bartholomew and changed fourty Shillings to make up a sune which Otherways he could not have done, and he promised to change it againe, and further Saith not.

The Grand Jury being called Over, went forth to find the Bill against Charles Pickering, and returned and found y^e Bill as being a Heynous and Grevious Crime.

The Indictmt was read against y^e Prisoner at y^e Barr, to wch he answered not Guilty, and would be tryed by his Country. The Attorney Genraill then opened y^e Cause and called for his Witnesses as followed:

Caleb Pusey attested, Saith that Charles Pickering paid him 15lb. in New Bitts, wch were produced in Court.

Griffith Jones Attested, Saith that he borrowed of the Prisoner Eight pounds in New Bitts, as they are now called.

Mary Bartholmew attested, saith that Griffith Jones came to her and desired her to change him fourty Shillings, shee said she would, provided he would change them againe, and he sayd he would; whereupon he had it, wherof some of y^e pieces were produced in Court.

The foreman of the Jury desired that y^e Prisoner would tell him who he had the money of that he paid to severall people, but he sought to Evade it, saying the money that any pson rec'd of him he would change it, and that noe man should Loose any thing by him.

The Govr gave y^e Charge to ye Jury, and they went forth and returning againe, brought him in Guilty of y^e Bill of Indictemt.

A bill sent to y^e Grand Jury against Samll. Buckley and Robt. Fenton, which was found, and their Indictmts read against them; they both Confessed y^e fact, and the Petty Jury went forth and brought them in Guilty of their Indictmts. Samll Buckley & Robt ffenton, both Declare that Pickering and they two made the Money to gather, and Robt. ffenton saith that he Cut the Seals for Charles Pickering, and that he was at worke there with them about a Week or more, and further saith, one pair was made before he absented himselfe, and one paire afterwards, and yt the mint was not in this Province, which was declared by both of y^e aforesaid Prisoners.

After which, y^e Govr Proceeded to give Sentence against y^e Prisoners, wch is as followed.

Charles Pickering, The Court hath Sentenced thee for this high misdemeanor whereof thou hast been found Guilty by the Country, that thou make full Satisfaction in good and Currant pay to Every Person that shall within y^e Space of one month, bring in any of this false, Base and Counterfitt Coyne, (wch will to morrow by Proclamation be called in,) according to their respective proportions, and that the money brought in, shall be melted into gross before returned to thee, and that thou shalt pay a fine of fourty pounds into this Court, towards y^e Building of a Court house in this Towne, and Stand comitted till payd, and afterwards fined Security for they good abearance.

Samll Buckley, the Court Considering thee to have been more Engenious then he that went before thee, hath thought fitt to fine thee, and doe fine thee tenn pounds towards a Public Court house here and to finde good Security for thy good abearance.

Robert ffenton, the Court haveing also Considered thy Ingenuity in Confessing the Truth of Matters, and that thou art a Servant, hath only Sentenced thee to Sitt an hour on the Stocks to morrow morning.

A Proclamation was this day Issued out to put downe Bitts of Coyne so Called wch were Counterfitted by Char: Pickering and also he to make satisfaction to all manner of Persons wronged by y^e same.



● ● An Experimental DIE ANALYSIS CHART for the Connecticut Coppers. ● ● ●

● ● ● James C. Spilman

V. DAC CONSTRUCTION (Continued)

This is a continuation of Part V in my discussion of the Experimental Die Analysis Chart for the Connecticut Coppers, picking up from where I stopped on sequential page 602 of the July 1977 issue of CNL.....

The major graphical parameter of the DAC is the flow of technological progress just described. The next major parameter is the extensive die interlocking of obverse and reverse varieties in the years 1787 and 1788 which make up the backbone of the chart. This single complex network is illustrated in Figure B. This portion of the DAC was the first to be constructed when unfolding the Barnsley chart and is the largest network on the chart. Unfolding the Type 33 and Type Z loops was the most most difficult task and several versions were attempted before the present configuration was selected.

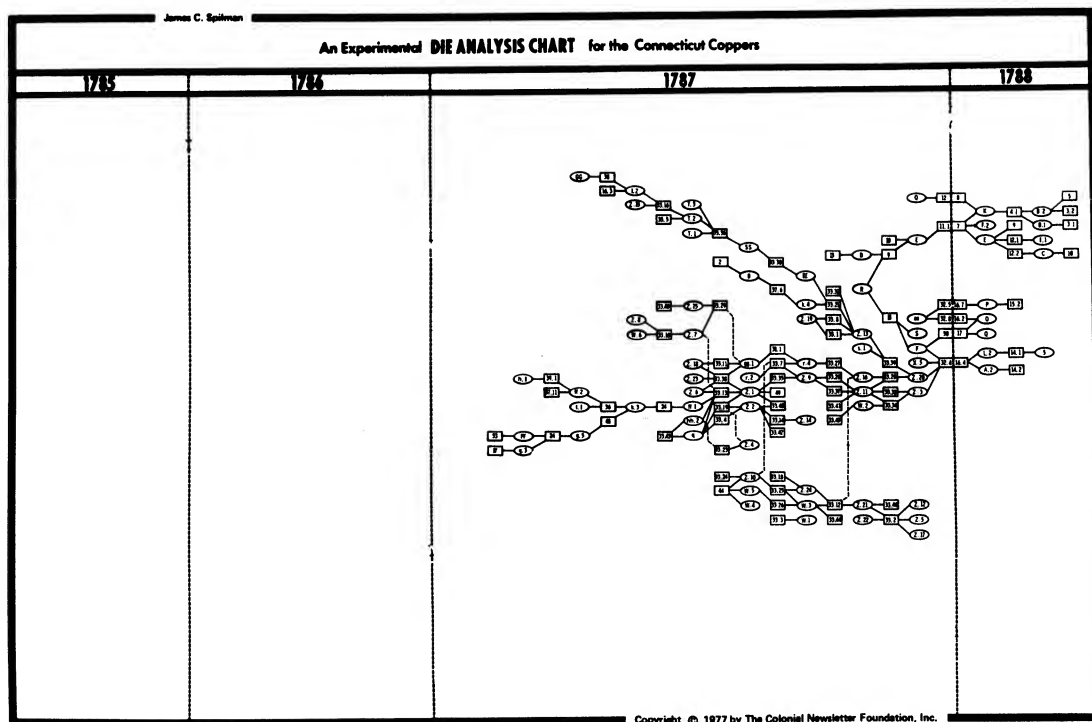


Figure B

The "33 - Z" Network of 1787 - 1788

In Figure B, note that in the central 33-Z area of 1787 that all Type W dies except one, the W.2, appear in the quasi-three-dimensional decks located "above" and "below" the main deck. This W.2 die could also be elevated away from the main deck by extending a dotted ligature "up" or "down" from the main deck, but at the time it did not seem appropriate to do so as it was not necessary to avoid crossing arcs, which - at the time - was the only reason for constructing the quasi-three-dimensional configuration.

Next we added the three major trees making up the "Orange" group, and its extensions, for the year 1786 -- and the chart appeared as in Figure C.

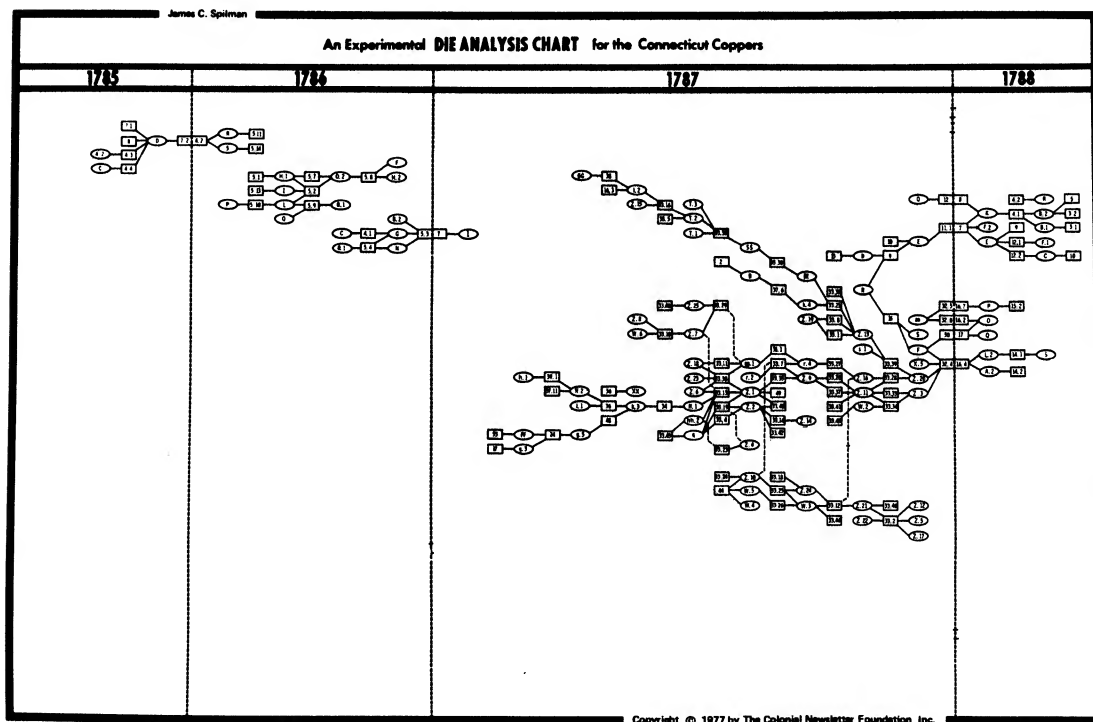


Figure C

The "Orange" Group Added

With the addition of the other two major trees in the year 1787 which form the nucleus for the "Green" group and the "Brown" group, the chart appeared as in Figure D. Finally the smaller trees of 1785 representing the products of Abel Buell were added and the chart then appeared as shown in Figure E. At this point there are represented most of the major die-interlock networks that are derived from or directly represent the workmanship of Abel Buell. Subsequently all of the remaining Buell dies were fitted into place around these major networks in accordance with their "common characteristics" which remain to be described. Other groups of dies NOT the product of Buell were placed in peripheral positions -- these will be discussed later.

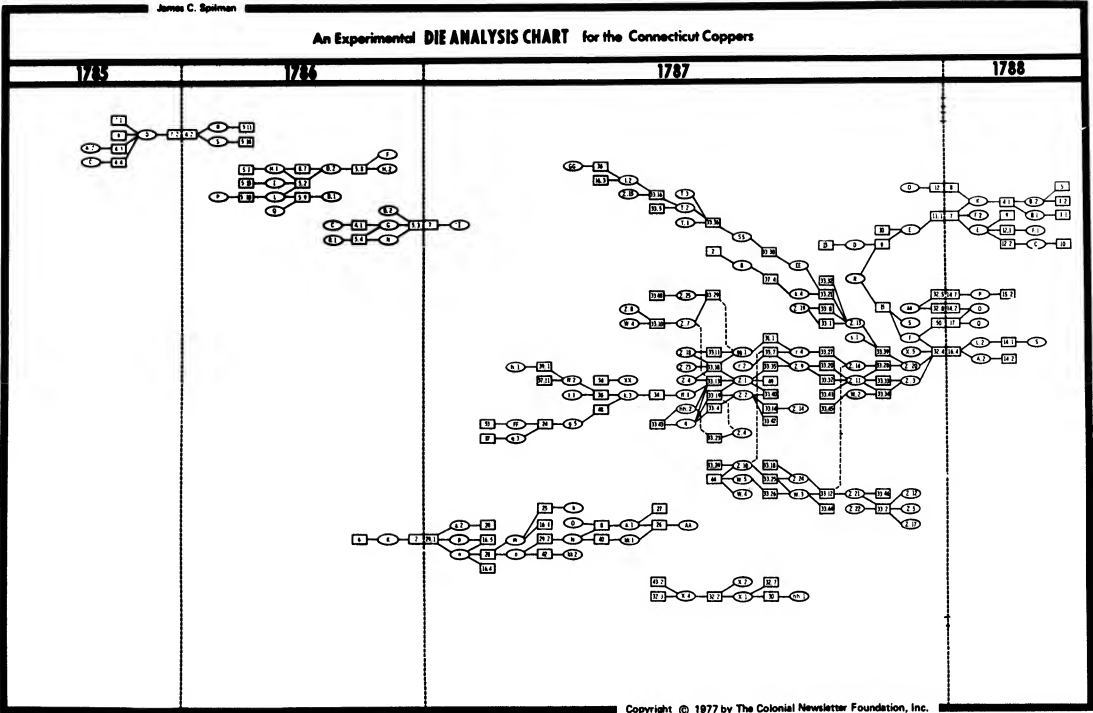


Figure D

Basic Networks for the "Green" & "Brown" Groups Added

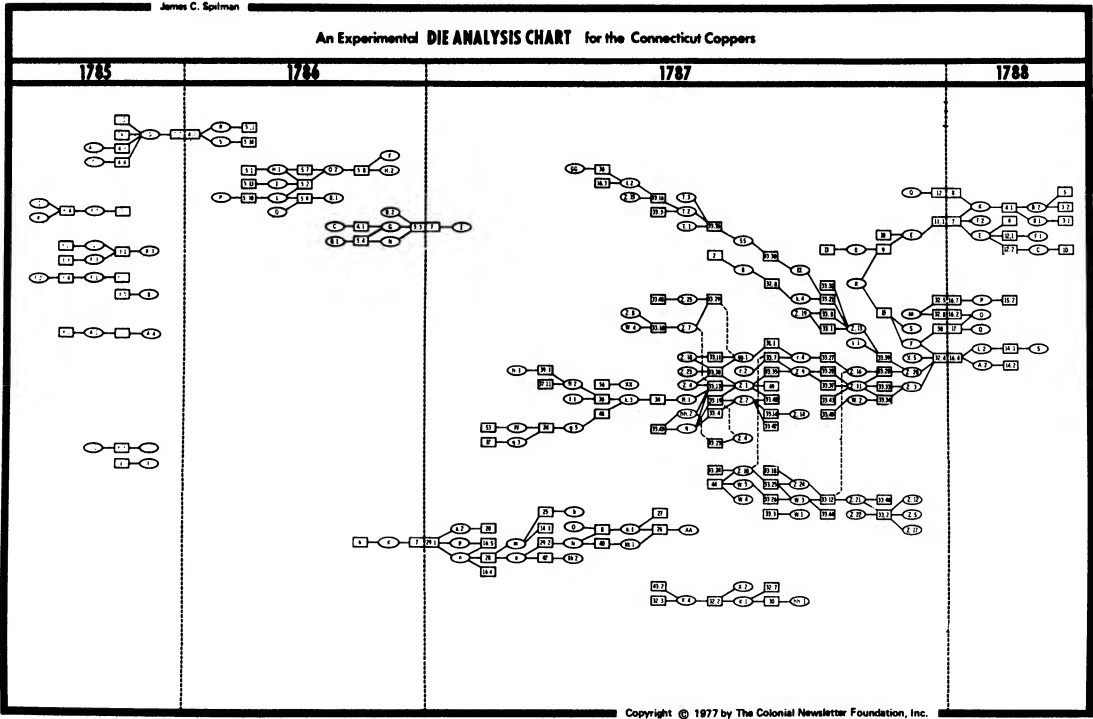


Figure E

1785 Buell Networks Added

At this point we must review a basic criterion associated with the original Barnsley chart. This was that EVERY specimen bearing the AUCTORI CONNEC legend should be depicted on the chart, and conversely - any specimen that DID NOT bear that legend would NOT be depicted. At first glance this seems obvious, but what results and is not obvious is that some "Connecticut" reverse dies muled with obverses of other series of early American coinages do not appear on the Barnsley chart, and accordingly do not appear on the DAC.

This is to say that there are other directly interlocked die varieties that are not shown on the DAC. These were, however, considered in the structural arrangement of the DAC and it is appropriate to introduce them at this point in the discussion. There are two groups within which such direct die-interlocking exists. See Figure F. These groups were placed in the extreme upper right and lower right corners of the DAC, both occurring in the year 1788. The group in the lower right corner we call the Vermont Connection for it is here that the interlocking with the dies of the VERMON AUCTORI tie into the Connecticut series. The group in the upper right corner is called the Machin's Mills Connection and it is here that this tie-in occurs.

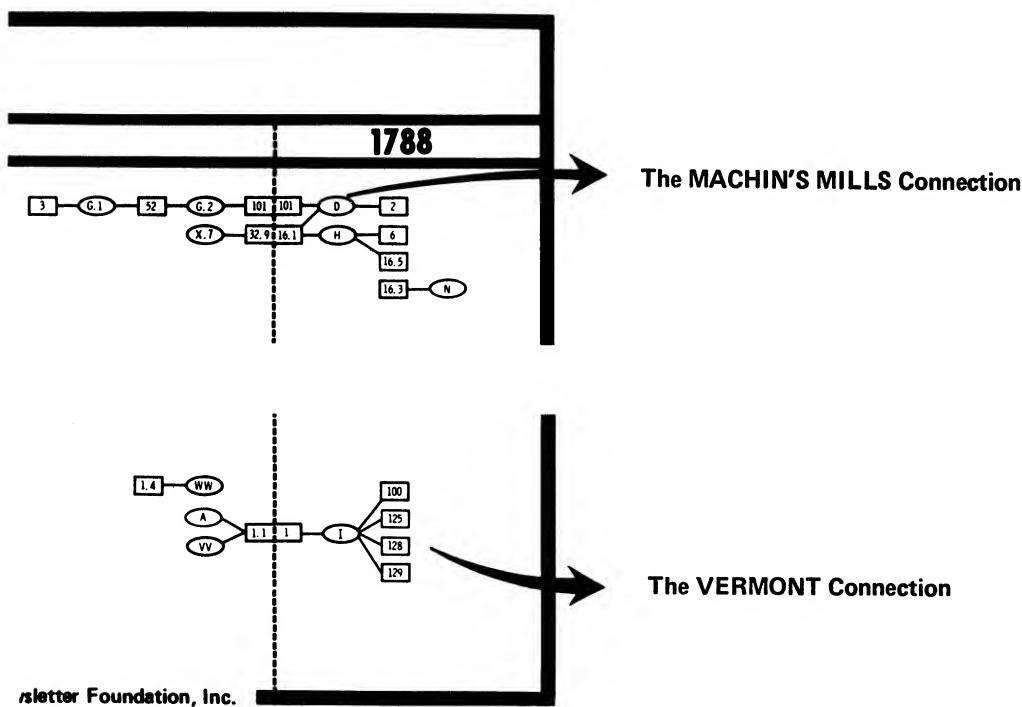


Figure F

Showing the Tie-in to Vermont and Machin's Mills Groups

There are several other early American series of coinages that are also related to Connecticut DAC, but not by direct die interlockings. These include the Fugio Cents of 1787, both Fine and Club Ray types, many of the New Jersey Coppers and a number of miscellaneous "New York" specimens. It quickly becomes apparent that this larger DAC showing the interrelationships between all of these series is a very complex network diagram. Keep in mind as this discussion progresses that all of the techniques associated with the Connecticut DAC are equally applicable to the DAC's of other series.

So far in my discussion of the Connecticut DAC I have covered the general concepts for its' structural organization and arrangement. It remains to explain the "common characteristics" of the die varieties making up the various color groups that were listed starting on page 575 and the factors that dictate the "technological flow" depicted in Figure A, page 601. Accordingly, the next section of this paper - in a future issue - will present some ideas on the technological development of the Connecticut Coppers and the factors that forced Abel Buell into expediences that resulted in a coinage product well below his capabilities.

To this point no mention has been made of the attribution system for the Connecticut Coppers established by Henry C. Miller other than it is used to identify the die varieties on the DAC. It seems to me that most writers have considered the Miller attribution system to be a more or less random or arbitrary scheme for the identification of dies. Close examination of Miller's tabulations reveals an entirely different situation. His method was to select, in each year group, the correctly spelled legend having the simplest punctuation and assigning the lowest "value" numeral or letter designation. Then, with increasing complexity of punctuation (including ornamentation) he assigned increasingly higher "value" designators. Errors in spelling were included later in this sequence. With only minor exceptions this approach is followed rigorously within each year group. His only other differentiation was whether the obverse effigies faced right or left and were draped or mailed. All in all it was I feel certain, to Miller, a well knit approach to a very difficult sorting exercise.

Recognizing all of this, when one examines the assemblage of variety designators as they appear on the DAC -- some very interesting questions arise. For example, within the 1787 year group, why do Type Z and W dies cluster together? And why do Type 31 and 33 dies cluster together, but Type 32 dies cluster separately? This seems to be rather strange behavior for designators based on a system of sequential complexity of punctuation!

